

THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

DEVOTED TO THE ENLARGEMENT AND PERFECTION OF HOME.

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WHAT THE PAPER IS AND WHAT IT IS NOT.

THE sub-heading under the title tells in as few words as possible what the AMERICAN SOCIALIST is; but to see how the object proposed in that sub-heading permeates vast varieties of discussion and information on Communism, Coöperation and all connected themes, political and religious, the paper itself must be read. To show what the AMERICAN SOCIALIST is not, we quote a passage from a letter received from a Shaker of very high standing in his order—in fact, a member of the Ministry. After reading the paper a year, he says: "I see that some are misled, as I was a year ago, in supposing the AMERICAN SOCIALIST to be the organ of the Oneida Community. It seems to me now to be no more the organ of that body than though the O. C. had no existence. I have perused it with some care the past year, and find it, among all the Socialistic organs, without a peer."

A COMMUNISTIC PLAN OF SUBSCRIPTION.

The hard times crowd us all. Now and then an able-bodied man sends us a dollar and apologizes for not sending two by saying that he has been laying by that dollar, a few pennies at a time, for several weeks. On the other hand, our annual receipts do not thus far half pay for the bare cost of paper and printing, to say nothing of editorial labor. At the same time many of our subscribers are wealthy and sometimes send us more than the price of the paper. These circumstances have suggested the following plan for equalizing burdens all round: Let every person who can spare a dollar besides his regular subscription send it to us with the name of some poor person to whom he would have the SOCIALIST sent, and we will contribute the other dollar in every case and send a full volume. That is, we will contribute as much, in this way, as all others will send us. If the sender does not know a suitable poor person who would like to receive the paper, we will, when requested, suggest one of the many who apply to us and state his lack of means. This plan is exactly suited to the genius of Communism, which teaches those who have an abundance to help those who lack.

PUBLISHERS' CAVEAT.

THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST will in the future, as in the past, publish all well-written accounts of new Communistic and Coöperative Societies which may be offered in good faith; but it should be clearly understood that its conductors disclaim all responsibility for the character or success of such Societies. They consider that they perform their duty if they exclude schemes which are manifestly hair-brained or fraudulent and continue to set forth, as opportunity offers, the principles which seem to them to lie at the foundation of successful Socialism. A similar disclaimer of responsibility for advertisements is also hereby notified to all readers. We shall print only such as seem to us honest; and all we mean by that act is that it will be safe to read them; but when you come to business with the advertisers, you must act on your own responsibility.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Communications for the AMERICAN SOCIALIST are invited from all friends of its purposes. Its editors, however, must be the judges of the fitness of articles sent; and they can not undertake to return manuscripts that do not suit them, unless the writers expressly request it and inclose postage money when the manuscripts are sent.

All correspondence should be addressed to

"The American Socialist, Oneida, N. Y."

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SOCIALISTIC NOTES.

The Craig testimonial fund has reached a total of £80.

Joseph Smith, whose 81st birthday was recently celebrated, is said to be the oldest Coöperative pioneer now living.

Alcander Longley has started another Community—this time at Lutesville, Bollinger Co., Mo. Mr. Longley reports that the Community has 40 acres of land, is free of debt, and has 11 members.

A. C. Stowe writes from Vineland, N. J., to the *Truth-Seeker* that he is organizing a colony to settle in California. All the labor and enterprises of the colony will be carried on Coöperatively; separate cottages for families when desired. Only liberals who believe that in the advancement of the interests and happiness of others they can best secure their own, and who can live this faith, and can and will mind their own business, are wanted.

The publication of Herbert Spencer's works in Russia is not favored by the censors, because treatises on Sociology might encourage Socialism! Which reminds us that a captain of one of the Cunard steamers once refused to take a fire-engine as freight, saying, when told it was a machine for putting out fire, "I don't care, I won't have anything aboard my ship that has to do with fire any way!"

A writer in *The Herald of Health* calls for the establishment of a health-reform colony. He says there are thousands of men and women who find it utterly impossible to live up to their convictions of duty, on account of their connection with those who are opposed to all progressive and reformatory measures; and so, he says, "Let us all join hands and form a colony in some fruitful and healthy part of the country, where we can live a higher, truer and better life."

J. F. Bray has an article in the Chicago *Socialist* on "the Church Militant," which is a little severe upon our friends of the clergy. It says that although we can fall back on Christ for all our Socialism and peace principles, modern parsons "hit everything that comes along in the shape of reform. The world must be made better in their way or it shall not be made better at all. They blow their rams' horns against Socialism, and then beat their gongs against Oneida, because these are experiments they cannot 'boss.'"

The statement is made by a correspondent of the London *Times*, writing from Bucharest, that the repressive measures of the Russian Government, instead of crushing out the spirit of discontent in the empire, are increasing it and tending to bring on a revolution. The present annoyances and outrageous oppression of all classes of the population, he says, are rapidly spreading a feeling that anything is preferable to the existing state of affairs. Must every people secure its liberties inch by inch, and only through bloody revolution?

The *Coöperative News* for April 19 contains an introductory article on "The Familistère of Guise," with a wood-cut illustration of that celebrated establishment, including its dwellings, schools, theatre, offices, etc. M. Godin's scheme is indorsed by the writer, E. V. Neale, "as the true solution of all the social evils that now perplex us." The scheme itself is thus given in M. Godin's own words: "To place the families of the poor in a convenient dwelling; to surround this dwelling with all the resources and advantages with which the habitations of the rich are surrounded; to make of it a place of tranquillity, of agreeableness and repose; to replace the services which the rich derive from domestics by common institutions. Such is the part to follow, if we wish that the families of the workers shall not be perpetually shut out from the well being which they create; to which every human creature has a right; and which it is a necessity of our age to realize for all."

An old journal thus sensibly discourses on the distribution of riches: "When a man finds he is making money inconveniently fast, there are several ways by which he can relieve himself. The common, the popular, the easy method is to give a large sum to a college, a library, or a hospital. But would not a just-minded man think first of those who assisted him to earn his money? Would he not conclude that he is getting too large a share of the earnings of his establishment? We cannot tell. We have never been in such a predicament. And yet we cannot help thinking that, if we were ever in the circumstances described, our first resort would be the *wages-book*, to see whether or not the superfluous money under which we groaned might not find an easy

escape into the pockets of those who helped to earn it. To give a man money is a doubtful good, not so to raise his wages. And we had rather bless and beautify a thousand homely homes than found a thousand dead colleges."

WHAT IS, AND WHAT MIGHT BE.

XIII.

CONCERNING GOVERNMENTS.

Our investigation has made prominent three points on which the progressive influences concerned in the world's development seem to be now concentrating in a way to demand great changes. The new requirements are,

- 1, *Improved forms of government.*
- 2, *Improved systems of trade, and for regulating the production and distribution of wealth.*
- 3, *More intelligent methods of controlling population.*

I will comment on these points in their order, offering some suggestions as to "what might be" in a higher civilization, with occasional hints at what, it seems to me, inevitably will be, as indicated by the logic of events. And first as to the question of government.

Since the time of Aristotle—perhaps from a much earlier date—governments have been classified into three kinds; the Democratic or Republican, the Aristocratic or Monarchical, and the Despotie. The first includes all those forms in which the people govern themselves through representatives, as in the United States, France, Switzerland, etc., at the present time. The second includes all limited monarchies in which the influence and authority of the ruler and nobility, though not absolute, overbalance that of the people, the few governing the many, as in Germany, Austria, etc. The third is where one individual rules supreme, his personal will being the only known law, as in Russia, Persia, etc. Each of these forms has its advantages and its evils. No government has yet been devised which can be called perfect. Most of them have very great and obvious defects.

We have found that in Russia the sole object of the Nihilists is the overthrow of the despotic czardom, and that in Germany the Socialists are trying to limit the power of the Crown. When we begin to reflect on these movements several important questions at once arise in our minds. We first ask ourselves, What forms of government will be substituted for the present ones in case the latter are overthrown or seriously modified? This leads at once to the underlying question, What form is really the best? which it is difficult to answer satisfactorily. Best for whom? It is natural that the Czar, Emperors, Kings, and rulers of every degree should desire all the power they can get. No doubt if the question were left to them they would be unanimous to a man in saying that an absolute despotism was the best possible form. I have never read of an instance in which an absolute sovereign voluntarily proposed restrictions on his own power. Such restrictions have invariably been resisted to the last degree, and only submitted to when there was no other alternative save abdication or removal. But if we ask what form is best calculated to benefit all classes of the people, with the least oppression to any, history answers for us. The tendency of the world is away from despotisms toward the most representative and liberal forms of government. There are to-day twenty republics governed by Presidents and Congresses chosen by the people. A few years ago there were not so many. Two hundred years ago there were very few, Switzerland then having most nearly achieved independence. Calling Germany one empire and ignoring the petty sovereigns under Wilhelm I., these twenty republics constitute one-half of the existing governments. The tendency toward free institutions is therefore plain.

It must be admitted, however, that the form of government best suited to a people varies with its growth in civilization and refinement. In its barbarous stages of development, an absolute despotism may be actually the best for a majority of the subjects. They then need

stern repression. Lawlessness must be put down with a strong hand. But as knowledge increases and individual character rises in the scale of excellence, a modified government becomes necessary to the best growth of the nation. The people must be protected against the passions, caprices and possible injustices of the despot. To effect this, constitutions are adopted defining and limiting the power of the ruler. If the ruler were sure to be always a person of extraordinary goodness and wisdom, one who desired the prosperity and happiness of even his meanest subject more than his own personal exaltation, it is possible that almost unlimited power would be voluntarily accorded to him, no matter how advanced his people might be. For such a ruler would only use his power for beneficent purposes, and never for ill; and so the more power he had the more good he might do. But the experience of mankind thus far shows not a single instance of a despotic ruler possessing such a high degree of wisdom and moral excellence that it would be desirable for a civilized nation to make his power absolute. The possession of unlimited power tends of itself to make men selfish and overbearing, and unless this tendency is in some way kept in check, haughty, cruel, ambitious, unscrupulous tyrants are the result. Even the lives of their subjects come to have no value with such rulers. We all remember the incident which happened on the occasion of the last visit of the Shah of Persia to England. The Shah was studying British customs, and among other things inquired how they made away with capital offenders. Being told that it was done by hanging, he expressed a desire to see some one executed in that way. Unfortunately, there was just then no one who had been condemned to be hung. The Shah coolly remarked that there need be no difficulty about that as he would furnish a subject from among his servants! That sounded strangely to the English. History furnishes plenty of rulers more unscrupulous than Nassr-ed-Deen. I need not name them.

The principle of hereditary transmission of kingly authority greatly enhances the danger of a misuse of unlimited power, because then it often happens that thoroughly bad and incompetent men succeed to the position of ruler. In such a case the condition of the people is pitiful indeed. This danger is so great that the progress of the world is, as I have said, away from despotic government toward democracy. That is what we see in Europe at the present time. It is perfectly safe to predict that Russia will in time get its constitutional government. As soon as the people are civilized to a degree where their further development is seriously hindered by a despotism, the despotism will go down. Its collapse may be delayed by the severe repressive measures of the Czar, or it may be hastened. We cannot tell. But it will surely come.

When a despotism has been modified into a limited monarchy the people have gained an important measure of security from oppression, and this largely increases the stability of the government by reducing the liability of its overthrow by revolution. But the government still remains very expensive, as it necessarily includes a titled aristocracy. "No nobles, no king," is an old saying. This was, no doubt, in the minds of the patriots who planned our American republic when they entered the following clause in our Constitution:

"No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State."

It may be claimed for a limited monarchy, that, having a life ruler, its state policy is likely to be more settled and consistent than in a republic which changes its Chief Executive once in four or seven years. A newly-elected President may belong to the opposite political party from his predecessor, and is likely, therefore, to adopt an entirely different policy on important matters. But this supposed advantage of a monarchy is more seeming than real. In Great Britain, for example, there are as sudden changes of policy on the formation of a new Ministry as when we inaugurate a new President. In fact, in that country the fluctuations of public opinion demand occasional changes of this sort.

The advantages of a republic are very great. In it all distinctions of caste disappear; there is no titled aristocracy or other favored class, and the people can have all the personal freedom compatible with a proper organization of society and the maintenance of public order. They can think, speak and act exactly as they choose, provided they do not encroach upon the rights of others. The laws are made for the benefit of all classes equally, and every position in the government,

from that of the President down to the humblest postmaster, is open to any citizen who can win it. "After staying eighteen years in this country," said Professor Agassiz, "I have repeatedly asked myself what was the difference between the institutions of the Old World and those of America; and I have found the answer in a few words. In Europe everything is done to preserve and maintain the rights of the few; in America everything is done to make a man of him who has any of the elements of manhood in him." This is exactly what men are striving for—conditions which will allow each individual to make the most of himself. So long as a man is at liberty to put forth all his efforts for his own improvement he will not quarrel with his government. The economy of a republic is another important point in its favor. The modest salary of our President contrasts well, in the eyes of the tax-payers, with the enormous sums drawn by European Sovereigns.

There are, however, some serious evils in a republican government. Two great political parties arise and strive for the supremacy; and after a time the party feeling overrides the true interests of the people. This is the case in the United States at the present time. Certain moves are proposed and issues made, not at all because the good of the country demands them, but because they will in the opinion of the political managers strengthen the chances of the Republican Party or the Democratic Party. The party in power enjoys the best share of the government patronage, and so the politics of the nation are in an important sense prostituted to the greed of those who desire to feed at the public crib. Another difficulty with a popular government is that, everything being done by votes, the most ignorant citizen may offset the most educated and best informed one. We have heard of cases where a leading statesman would inquire of his coachman on election day what ticket he was going to vote, and finding he belonged to the opposite party, proposed that they should both remain at home, neither voting, as, if they should vote, the one would counteract the other and the result of the election would not be affected. This can hardly be considered the wisest arrangement possible. A man like Secretary Evarts, for example, ought to have more weight in an election than an ignorant farm-laborer. It may be answered to this that under our system the educated men can get all the influence they deserve by talking to the less educated and influencing them in the right direction. Just here comes in another difficulty. Demagogues arise and lead the people astray. By plausible arguments, educated men with selfish motives may command votes to which they are not justly entitled. Votes may also be bought for money, or even, it is often said, for a little whiskey. These difficulties are seen in all decisions by vote, even in the National Congress. At Washington the lobby is such a power that it is called the "Third House." Large sums of money are spent in influencing legislation, and many corrupt practices creep in. In England and some other countries voters have been and still are subjected to a property qualification. The object of this is to give the franchise only to men of some education and capacity, the supposition being that such will accumulate property, while the very ignorant and worthless will fall below the requirement and so be debarred from a voice in public affairs. The qualification does not, however, seem to be wholly satisfactory, for there is at the present time a considerable agitation for its removal.

I shall be forced, for want of space, to defer until next week the conclusion of what I intended to say concerning governments. F. W. S.

(To be Continued.)

ODD FELLOWS.

[From the Freport (Ill.) Budget.]

Sixty years ago, on April 26th, the first Odd Fellows' Lodge was instituted in North America, at Baltimore, Maryland, the base and foundation of that lodge then instituted being "the brotherhood of man, and the fatherhood of God over all." That is the bed rock of Odd Fellowship. Taught by philosophers of old, preached by the eloquent lips of St. Paul, proclaimed in the Declaration of American Independence, and made the foundation of the first Lodge of Odd Fellowship instituted in America. Philosophy teaches, heavenly inspiration certifies, sound statesmanship proclaims, and the experience of all true Odd Fellows approves. As a practical organized charity there has never been anything approaching the organization of Odd Fellowship. Its lodge meetings are held with the gathering shades of the evening, and every night, yes, every hour, day and night, somewhere, in some country, there is a lodge in session, and in some language the inquiries are *always* being made in open lodge, "Does any brother know of

a sick brother in distress?" "Are there any cases requiring the charity of the Order?" The Order within the United States distributes annually hundreds of thousands of dollars, and always in small amounts to the worthy unfortunate, to relieve the distressed and to educate the orphan. Within the State of Illinois there are at this present moment 26,616 Odd Fellows in good standing, and within the last year the following charitable disbursements have been made:

Paid for Relief of Brothers.....	\$31,965.55
Paid for Relief of Widowed Families.....	5,382.25
Paid for Education of Orphans.....	277.35
Paid for Special Relief.....	4,331.24
Paid for Burying the Dead.....	6,409.37

Total Relief.....\$48,365.76

And this within the State of Illinois alone, within the last twelve months—\$48,365.76. We ask any unprejudiced man to scan these figures, and then, if he can, tell why the Order of Odd Fellowship is not worthy of praise. It is doing a good work within this State, and in all the States of the Union, and throughout the world.

THE SOCIALISM OF CHRISTIANITY.

[From a Sermon by Prof. Swing.]

All the actions and words of this Christ were to one simple effect: that all the millions roving on the broad face of the earth were brothers and sisters in one household, and that they virtually had one Father, and He was in heaven. When asked who was his mother, or brother, or sister, he pointed to any man or woman in the surrounding throng. And such teaching was not an accidental word, a theory advanced in some poetic hour, but it was the burden of all the discourses of this Master; and what is better, it was the burden of all his conduct. He not only taught such an equality of man, but he lived for the planting and developing of that truth. This was the ideal Communism. The subsequent founding of such a nation as the United States, the abolition of slavery, the limiting of monarchies by the votes of the people, the overthrow of despotism in France, the growing liberty and equality of the times, are only the gradual coming of that brotherhood foreseen by the prophetic eye of Jesus Christ. But all this unfolding thus far is only the first step toward a fulfillment of the Nazarean dream. The end is not yet. Grand events will bless years yet to come. All the mornings of earth are preceded by a slow dawn.

The public speakers who are now discoursing eloquently of the equality of mankind, and who are deriding the Christian religion, are gathering laurels which belong in truth to quite other foreheads, for in pleading for the equality and brotherhood of men they are only echoing in fainter sound the thought that burned in the bosom of him who was the prince of all reformers. The Christianity of man may be defective; it may grind and in all ways oppress the common people, it may have braced up cruel thrones by means of Pope and King, and presbyter, but the Christianity of Christ stands forth the purest and most eloquent form of democracy which has ever yet charmed the multitude. All the blessings of living speakers on behalf of the rights of the multitude would seem feeble entreaties could we be an hour with Christ, and hear his language and see his enthusiasm. The difficulty with the actual Christianity is the same difficulty which embarrasses that worship of humanity set up by the French just after the Revolution, namely, the difficulty of finding a heart that can obey a doctrine as easily as to find a mind that can teach it. The church is open to rebuke, in that it does not act out toward the common people the love it embodies in its repeated declarations; but this inability of the heart to keep up in action with the mind in thought attaches not to Christian but to man; and the enemies of the Church who lecture upon the worship of humanity do not bestow upon the common people the proceeds of those lectures, but carefully hoarding these thousands they fling to the dear people handfuls of words. If words could cure poverty, between the speeches of both the Christians and the infidels the populace would become rich indeed. There is only one kind of teaching that can equal the Church actual in richness of language and in poverty of performance, and that is the teaching of infidelity. In making promises to humanity which it cannot fulfill, infidelity stands without any close rival. It possesses all the infirmities of a Christian faith, and falls behind only in the matter of virtues. Passing, therefore, to the consideration of an ideal Communism, we find that Christ was a very prince of this form of political or social philosophy. He surpassed all in setting up that sentiment which our age calls the worship of humanity. He furnished the love, our age furnishes the rhetoric.

A second element in Christ's Socialism was the doc-

trine that each individual must find much of his mission in the actual service of others. Ordinary Communism insists upon equal rights, but Christ's radical ethics pass beyond that broad permission, and declare that each one will find most good and be most worthy in the service of all. Self is indeed to be tenderly cared for, but the universe is so made that the service of others is the best service also of self. Alongside of Christ's idea, that all men make up one brotherhood, stands the idea that each brother will find most good in toiling for the grand family to which he belongs. He must love the whole fireside more than he loves himself. As we see the father, or a mother, or a child bearing homeward some plant in full blossom, or some vine that will take root, or some picture that will hang on the wall, where the flower, or the vine, or the picture shall not be for the one who carries it, but for the home of all, that shall be for self only so far as self is bound up in the souls of others, so in the Lord's Communism each man is to love that sublime fireside which we call the world, and is to carry along his hands full of things for its decoration and general joy.

Many of the Communistic leaders would have a world in which all men should have the same amount of brain and learning, the same quantity of industry and skill, a world which should empower Daniel Webster to lead in music, and Mozart to lead in statesmanship, and both lead in farming or mechanics on alternate days; a world in which each person should hold an exact number of acres or rods of land; a world where an equalizing board should be perpetually busy keeping personal property and personal brains down at the established level. But in the world of Christ there may be an infinite variety of estate, physical and mental, with only this limitation, that no condition must create vanity, must impede the flow of that sentiment called brotherly love. Let the first be as the last, and the last as the first. The rich man was denounced not because he was fortunate in business, but because, holding perhaps stolen riches, he ground the poor Lazarus to powder. He did not perceive the human soul in Lazarus. He could have made the sick beggar comfortable by giving him the income of one hour, but despising the divine soul in Lazarus the rich man spent upon licentious feasts and companions his immense treasures, and left Lazarus the company of dogs at the outer gate. The Socialism of Christ demands this, that those of all the higher conditions in mind or money shall be the guardians of all in the lower conditions, and shall, by means of the inequality of money and mind, make more active and beautiful the equality of all souls. The difference of condition becomes the means of revealing the equality of humanity.

The prime idea of Christ's form of society is the devotion of each one to the public good. The *meum* sinks in presence of the *universum*. This idea culminated in the willingness of its Advocate to die for all. Behold in this principle the most glorious attribute, not only of Christian philosophy, but of our inmost nature! At every step in our march of years we are shown the insignificance of self. We find the motives of life in first our home circle—our parents, and brothers, and sisters. And in later years the reason of existence springs up in our second home—in the wife or husband and children. It will not stay in one's self. The soul commits suicide when its outward good is taken away, and it is told to retreat within itself. That retreat means the grave. Outside of these homes the country draws, and detains, and fills, and blesses the heart. But the half is not yet told, for, set forth to journey, and you are delighted with the hills and blossoming fields, but they are not your fields; you see the "pictured" birds, but they do not belong to you; the car flies along the river that is not your own; the sky is blue overhead, but it is not your sky; and at last the sun sinks in the west, but it is not your sun, nor can you lay your hands upon his saffron-colored bed! What mockery is this of the doctrine that I possess much—that I am above my fellow! Even my life is not my own, for I hold it doubtfully and tremblingly, and in hours of danger or sickness wonder if the Universal, the God, is not about to ask back the beating heart He loaned to me a few summer-times ago! A thoughtful walk amid the teachings of Jesus or a thoughtful journey over land or sea breaks up the worship of self in the spirit and tells us that the world belongs to all men and the All-Father. Each bird, each flower, each morning, each sunset, is for all.

In Christian Socialism there may be rich and poor. Indeed there must be, for a uniform human life would be as dreary and monotonous as the Sahara Desert or the Polar Sea. But these richest ones are not idolaters of gold; they are elder brothers who, being far in the

advance by superior skill or good fortune, are thus enabled to look after the education and welfare of the younger brothers and sisters still on the hearth and door-sill of the cabin. A rich man is a first-born son who, rising out of poverty, can now aid the aged parents too old and the children too young to fight for themselves the battle with ignorance and poverty. It would seem that in this ideal Socialism of Jesus when a business man has reached a fortune beyond all the most reasonable and liberal need of his own home he should at once become a distributor of money along what are called the channels of benevolence. The wants of the common people must speak to him, and such must be the structure of his soul that their voice shall not be a horrid discord, but a plaintive music. But it is not the rich business man only who must in his success turn benefactor, but the persons rich in education or in wisdom must break open their alabaster boxes upon the heads of those who know not the way of happiness and peace. You have no more right to ask a rich man to give his money to benevolence than to ask yourself and me to give our time and our education, if we have any, to the same result. All are gathered up in the one beautiful and blessed philosophy—living each for all.

Having marked now the radical ideas of Christian Socialism, let us ask, What means did Christ suggest for accomplishing the ends of His system? Here the Communism of Christ and that of our century begin to separate. Ordinary Communism talks of physical force. And that there have been hours when revolt and revolution should have come by violence, and when they did well thus to come, cannot be denied; nor can we deny that such days of force will find good place again in the future acts of the human drama; but, admitting this, we yet affirm that violence forms no part of the Communism of Jesus Christ. He uttered some sentences which seem to hide a sword under their cloak; but we must read a personage not by one sentence but by all his language and conduct. Thus reading Christ, He stands before us a Communist whose only armory was full of education, and pleadings, and brotherly conduct. Each member of this high order of the worshippers of humanity is to spread His ideas by practicing them. As the seventy were called and reformed by personal intercession, so each member of this holy order is to charm another seventy out of selfishness into nobleness; and as literature and the arts move without the aid of guns and ships of war, so the Communism of Jesus is to advance without a torch or a sword. Its coming is not the rattle of a tornado, but the still dawn of a morning. Its troops all carry olive branches, and their step falls lightly upon the grass. Upon its banner are pictured a man with a book in his hands reading to his fellow-men words which seem divine.

THEOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY.

II.

In a previous article under the foregoing title we left our clerical brother dispensing theological doctrines, very much, we fear, from a sheer sense of duty, to a joyless congregation, listening as attentively as they could, and for the same sober reason, namely, a sense of duty and propriety.

Preaching, however, in the early days of the present century, was to a great extent mainly an intellectual exercise. The heart seemed to be merely a spectator, having very little interest in what was going on in the brain-shop above. But how changed all this when the heart has found God and is filled with his purifying love! The pulpit vacated—written sermons laid on the shelf—the minister, no longer a demi-god, is circulating among the people—prayer and praise-meetings in the lecture-room attract both old and young. And why? Any noted preacher, bishop, cardinal or pope present? No; yes. Our curiosity is awake. We crowd in—look around—nobody to be seen but the common folk of the town. But listen: short, fervent prayers are offered; then a verse is sung, "Jesus, I my cross have taken, all to leave and follow thee;" hard hearts are melting; confessions of faults are tremblingly made; godly sorrow for sin, that worketh repentance unto life, is penetrating many a soul; brother asks the forgiveness of brother; the pastor even, having thrown off his theological gown, desires the prayers of his people that he may have a new conversion and become a humble medium of his Master's meekness and love. In a word, a revival is in progress, and there are signs that an honest settlement with the past is going on, and the auditor of personal accounts is no less a personage than the Spirit of Truth, sometimes called the "Word of God," whose qualifications for the office he fills are thus described in

the Epistle to the Hebrews: "The word of God is living and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit and of the joints and marrow, and is a discernor of the thoughts and intents of the heart; neither is there any creature that is not manifest in his sight; but all things are naked and opened unto the eyes of him with whom we have to do." Religious bodies, churches, societies or individuals who, by their sincerity and honesty, can secure the presence of this ready and thorough auditor of spiritual accounts, will not fail of having a revival that will bring peace, love and happiness to all hearts that keep nothing back and invite him to balance their books.

Probably the most extensive revivals ever known in this country, or perhaps in any other, culminated in 1834 and '5, of which Rev. C. G. Finney became a prominent leader, and whose fertile brain systematized the work to something like military order and discipline.

The socialistic phenomena of religious emotions and convictions experienced in revivals are much better understood now than they were half a century ago. In all actual intercourse of spirits or of spiritual principles results of some kind inevitably follow, whether recognized or not. That the two worlds, or visible and invisible spheres, were more or less in active conjunction during the decade prior to 1835, the issue that followed bore abundant proof. And what was that issue or outcome? Plainly this: The *birth* of the spirit and power of perfect holiness in heart-freedom from all sin, named by the opponents of the doctrine, "*Perfectionism*"—disowned and cast out by its mother, the New England orthodoxy of Yale College. Following this spiritual issue—of which we shall say more further on—a score or more of reformers—the writer being one of them—suddenly appeared in the moral field with banners unfurled, upon each of which were inscribed particular evils which were to be extirpated from the world.

FORETELLING THE WEATHER.

[From the Portland Transcript.]

The progress made in foretelling the weather is one of the wonders of the age. It is but a few years since Gen. Myers established that system of observations which now, by its wide extension, enables the farmer and the mariner to count with certainty on the weather of the morrow, and to shape their action accordingly. The old-time prognostications of the almanacs, at which the almanac-makers themselves used to laugh in their sleeves, have been replaced by "probabilities" which in the great majority of instances become certainties.

There are now 149 signal stations in the United States, each of which takes three observations per day, including the temperature, pressure, moisture of the atmosphere, direction and velocity of the wind, and character of the sunset. The observations are sent to the central office at Washington, the last being made at 11:30 P. M. It takes, perhaps, twenty-five minutes for all the reports arriving at that hour to be received and recorded, and the officer in charge then proceeds to make up a map of the weather. A circle is drawn on the map of the United States around each place from which a report is received. If it be storming there the circle is shaded dark, if the weather be fair the circle is left unshaded. The direction of the wind at each place is indicated by an arrow, and it is curious to see that in places not far apart the wind will be blowing in opposite directions at the same period of time. Lines are then drawn from place to place in the direction of mean temperature and pressure. From these indications the probabilities of the weather for the succeeding day are made up and dispatched in all directions.

All storms are caused by the effort of the atmosphere to attain a state of equilibrium. They originate at the point of lowest pressure and move toward the point of highest pressure. The great storm center on this continent is the region of the Rocky Mountains, hence all our storms come from the west or southwest. No storms come from the east. They follow the line of greatest moisture; hence, if there is excessive moisture on the seacoast, they diverge from the line of the great lakes and strike across to New England, and we feel the full force of the storm. If the moisture here is not excessive they follow the valley of the St. Lawrence, where there is always considerable moisture, and New England escapes. Often the full force of the storm is spent before it reaches our coast. We get but the fag-end of it. Our heaviest storms come from the southwest, the region of the West India Islands. Every storm is accompanied by two winds—the wind of aspiration and the wind of impulsion. The first blows toward the point from which the storm is advancing, the other

follows after it. Thus, when we have a northeast wind the storm which accompanies it does not come from that direction, but from the southwest. The wind blows against the storm. The reason of this is that the northeast wind is a surface wind, while the wind following the storm is at a higher level. One current blowing in one direction draws the other in the other direction.

The signal office is now issuing international charts of the weather. Observations are received daily, by Atlantic cable, from the signal stations of European countries, from which the probabilities are made up. The purpose is to make these observations so wide-extended over the globe as to foretell the movement of simoons and those great storms so destructive in certain latitudes. Of course the wider the observations the greater the range of probabilities. The science of forecasting the weather is yet in its infancy. It will attain wider range and greater accuracy as the observations are extended. Its progress rests simply on the observation of the laws of nature operating in the movements of the atmosphere, and bringing those observations, from widely distant points, together at one station, by means of the electric telegraph, for comparison and deduction of probabilities. The long arms of the telegraph enable the central observer to use the eyes of all his distant assistants, and take, as it were, a bird's-eye view of all the movements of the atmosphere over a wide region of the earth's surface.

It is proposed to have signal stations established far out at sea, to be reached by submarine cables, and thus to give notice to vessels at sea of the approach and direction of storms. It is easy to see how the universal application of this system will lessen the danger of disasters at sea, and enable mariners to steer clear of the storms which traverse the atmosphere as they do the ocean.

AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

THURSDAY, MAY 15, 1879.

HENRY KIDDLE.

The announcement that Henry Kiddle, Superintendent of the Public Schools of New York City, is a Spiritualist, and has published a book on "Spiritual Communications," has produced a sensation. Spiritualists are naturally jubilant over the affair; but what is to become of Mr. Kiddle? He was reëlected to his present position last fall for two years, and cannot be removed except on charges proved; and what charges can be preferred and sustained? The fact of his reëlection shows that he has well discharged his official duties, and no one has yet suggested that he has not proved a good Superintendent of Education. Spiritualism, with all its claims, is not popular with the majority of people; but that is no reason for his removal. That his faith in Spiritualism is an indication of mental unsoundness will hardly be asserted, in view of the learned and scientific men who in this and other countries profess a faith in Spiritualism. When lawyers and judges, government ministers and sovereigns, physicians and metaphysicians, astronomers and mathematicians, physicists and chemists, alike accept the facts of Spiritualism, it will be foolhardy to try to prove that Mr. Kiddle should not be allowed to retain his office because he accepts as genuine what many people brand as a delusion. That attempt has been too often made and has too often failed.

VALCOURISM.

A writer in our last issue speaks of the "irresponsible Free-Love movement" as having left its wrecks along its path. It is a just criticism. Considering the limited number of persons who have attached themselves to this movement, we question whether any other of modern times has been productive of so much misery. Not many months ago the record of the observations and practices of a prominent Free Lover of the Individual Sovereignty school was placed in our hands for perusal. It was written with pre-Raphaelite faithfulness to fact, and altogether was a most remarkable production. The author evidently thought his recital would tell against the tyranny of marriage, but its reading only strengthened ten-fold our conviction that the restraints which society has imposed upon sexual freedom are none too great. To make the

sexual passion free in society as it is would be worse than uncaging a wild beast. The latter could only mangle and kill the body; the former could debase the soul and all the nobler elements of human nature and make a veritable pandemonium of disorder and misery. It is difficult to conceive of the evil which might be wrought, by a single freebooter in love—disorganized families, homeless and loveless children, hearts wrecked of life's hopes! Better, a thousand times better, is common marriage with all its faults than that Free Love which seeks only its own gratification and ignores the consequences. But no; that is Free Lust, not Free Love. Nothing can be called love which seeks not the permanent good of its object; and that necessitates guaranties not less complete, permanent or sacred than those which surround common marriage.

This subject is one of great importance to Socialists. One of the dangers now seriously threatening their cause is anarchic, irresponsible Free Love. We have reason to be convinced that some of those seeking to establish Communities at the present time have their eye mainly on the gratifications that result from freedom of the social relations. Such men may repeat the folly of Valcour, but they cannot give to Communities the elements of success and permanency.

LIFE AND INSPIRATION *vs.* LAWS AND CONSTITUTIONS.

Men and women are not *made*; they *grow*. Families are not made; they grow. Communities are not made; they grow. Governments, in the true sense of the term, are not made; they grow.

In these days of free thought and the republican drift of things, of Socialistic upheaval and aspiration, it is well to remember these facts.

It is the mistake of reformers that men's characters can be changed by a change of circumstances. It is the mistake of freedom-seeking politicians and statesmen that nations can be made by paper constitutions. It is the mistake of despots, whether of the one-headed or the many-headed kind, that there are any sure foundations of authority except Truth, Justice, Love and Mercy.

If we look over the broad world to-day, we everywhere see men illustrating these delusions: from the Czar of Russia, on the one extreme, to the last new-fledged American reformer, on the other. And forever stands the angel of history recording against despotism, constitutionalism, legalism, institutionalism and circumstantialism alike—"Thou art weighed in the balance and found wanting." Forever stands the angel of divine humanity calling men away from their chaos of failures to *Life* and ever-active *Inspiration*, as the only true basis of society and government. When men begin to hear her voice and turn to the study of *Vitalism* and *Spiritualism* in all their affairs, then shall we see the beginnings of the "new heavens and the new earth"—the "one divine event,"

"Toward which the whole creation moves."

Given *good men and women*—men and women full of *good life* and under the afflatus of a *good spirit*—and the unmeasured possibilities of social and governmental perfection and organization are theirs; and they will *grow into them*. These preliminaries not given, and no constitutional statutes, codes of laws, or institutional forms, will secure just government, or a tolerable human existence. To good men and women constitutions, laws and forms, even the highest and most perfect conceivable, are not necessary—for the Truth, Justice, Love and Mercy they express are written in the hearts of such men and women, and are the natural action of their daily lives. "The law was not made for the righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient." The righteous man is the good man, and the good man is the God-like man, and the God-like man is a medium of the ever-living Spirit of Truth. The fruits of this Spirit are—"love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance." "Against such there is no law;" and no law, or constitution, or ordinance of man can establish them. On the other hand, men and women who are not mediums of this living Spirit of Truth do not and can not manifest its fruits; their works are these: "adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings, murders, drunkenness, revellings, and such like." These are called, in the anthropology of Paul, the "works of the flesh," i. e., the works of the great

cosmocratic spirit of "outer darkness" which forever antagonizes the Spirit of Truth. Nor can outward laws and constitutions deliver men from the flesh and its works. They may hedge about and restrain overt acts; which only causes the "offense to abound" by intensifying the interior activity of the cosmocratic control. Only a new and stronger life, only an opposite spiritual control, can deliver the victims. When this new life and control come and open the prison doors, and lead the captives forth, they do not leave them behind the *cheveau-de-frise* of legalism and constitutions. They lead them into the gardens of innocence and of God. They bring them into the realm of personal, Divine leadership, where "He that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them, and shall lead them unto fountains of living waters."

Of all people in the world Socialists should study this great question of Vitalism and Inspiration *versus* Constitutionalism and Legality. The great mistake of the past, under the Fourier and Owen dispensation, was the attempt to manufacture Communities by the machinery of Conventions, Constitutions and By-Laws. If these could have done the work Communities by the hundred ought to have been in existence to-day, and the social and economical problems that now vex and strain public attention ought to have been long ago solved and passed by. But turn to the "History of American Socialisms," and read the long list of social experiments based on written constitutions and enunciations of principles. Seven constitutions adopted within two years, each one aiming to be better than what had gone before, could not make a Community of the nine hundred people gathered at New Harmony, or save the greatest social project of Owen's life from disastrous failure. A Constitution made to endure "forever" could not save Yellow Springs Community. And so on by the score, down to the Constitution which stipulated that "this Association shall never be dissolved." They all failed. On the other hand, the half-dozen Religious Communities, which were the outgrowth of Inspiration and the uniting Life of a personal religious Brotherhood, and with whom constitutional compacts and by-laws held a secondary place, succeeded, and remain to-day witnesses of the power of such common indwelling life and spiritual afflatus, to harmonize and organize men and women and lead them into all the victories of union, peace and love. And we have no doubt that in the case of every one of these Religious Communities, investigation would show that whatever there is of failure, decay or inharmoniousness, which has supervened, or threatens any one of them, is due to the supplanting of their original Vitalism and Inspiration by Institutionalism and Law—cosmocratic wisdom taking the place of ouranocratic or heavenly. Were they to return to the conditions under which they started, and let hospitality to, and faith in, ever-growing Inspiration snap the existing bonds of legality and mediumistic inactivity, they would be born again into a new and glorious life.

Written constitutions are the expression of the truth seen, and the experience reached to-day, by those who adopt them. They may utterly fail in the exigencies of to-morrow. If they are elevated into a creed, beyond which none may go, and barring out new truth, they become obstructions to human progress. Even the Bible with all its glorious truth and wisdom, becomes such an obstruction if it is lifted into a creed and men settle down upon it as a finality and shut themselves up against new revelations and new truth from the spiritual authors of the Bible. Then its adherents dwell in its letter, fight over it, and wrest it to their own destruction. For good men, who live and act under the continuous afflatus of the Spirit of Truth, written constitutions are unnecessary, for such men will always do the best and the true thing for to-day, and remain free and unhampered to do the best and true thing to-morrow. Against evil men, if they become the ruling party, written constitutions are worthless, because such men will always find a way to override or ignore them. It follows that they are mainly of service in furnishing rules of action for the party of legalists, to whom Inspiration is an unknown science. And in the hands of this party they are quite as likely to be used as instruments of oppression against those who believe in progress under the higher law of Inspiration, as they are to be made a "terror to evil doers."

Hence, it is evident that the age of constitutionalism is a transition period. It is the result of the conquest of arbitrary despotism by legalism under popular development. It is itself destined to pass away before the advance of Spiritual Government organized through universal mediumship. The "law of the spirit of life" will take the place of laws written on stone and on parchment. The age of *good men* is coming, in whom

will be fulfilled the word of the Lord: "I will put my laws into their minds, and write them in their hearts; and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a people: and they shall not teach every man his neighbor, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord; for all shall know me from the least to the greatest." They shall "have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things;" and "the tabernacle of God shall be with men, and he will dwell with them and be their God." Already the signs of a new dispensation appear. The world is everywhere coming under constitutional government, and constitutional government seems rapidly advancing everywhere toward republicanism—the "government of the people, by the people, for the people." But just as popular liberty advances to the sovereignty, and republican constitutions are believed to be the universal panacea, a new element appears on the scene—a new force enters human affairs. The world-wide development of popular liberty is met by a world-wide development of *Spiritualism*. The gates are swung ajar by Him "who openeth and no man shutteth," and all the past generations of earth's inhabitants, and the hierarchies of celestial realms, stand ready to come forth and take a hand in the affairs of this world! What becomes of paper constitutions, Justinian codes, or codes Napoleon, canon or civil laws, in the presence of such a tremendous event as this? What is the universal suffrage of the paltry millions of this world's citizens, in the presence of the registered populations of the skies? Would they not be pretty badly out-voted? And suppose the long-predicted day is at the door, when "the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose Kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him?" Surely, in the midst of the amazing events which are taking place, and in view of the tremendous possibilities which to-morrow may begin to be actualized, we are summoned anew to the study of the science of human organization, and to an opening of hearts to the principles of Divine Government.

The affairs of the nation are in a state which suggests that perilous times may come unless the hearts of the people turn to the heavens for strength and truth. And if in these days Socialism is to lay broad and firm foundations in the world there is urgent need that its advocates and workers should study earnestly and prayerfully the matters of which we have spoken.

COMMUNITY ITEMS.

ONEIDA.

—House-cleaning is fairly over.

—By the way, how such a man as Doctor Johnson might have been improved if Boswell, Goldsmith, Garrick and the others at the Club had given him the benefit of a criticism, *a la* O. C.

—Reform! What a multitude of sins dost thou cover! An inquiring correspondent, who attaches an "M. D." to his name, hopes that we shall not be "seriously molested by meddlesome clergi," etc., continuing to vary his spelling *ad libitum*. Below his signature he writes apologetically, "Reformd (?) speling."

—You will occasionally observe one of the children drawing from his pocket a small card with a pencil attached, on which, after going through some mental calculation, he makes a brief note. Looking over his shoulder you perceive that he has in hand the following table:

TIME OUT-OF-DOORS.

	Hours.	Minutes.
After Supper,		
Before Breakfast,		
After School and before		
Bee,		
Total,		

Some of the children require urging in order to make them take the proper amount of out-door exercise, and among so many the effort to get them out of course necessitated a great deal of talking. The time-table system does away with all that; the children stay out more, and besides get some mental discipline in trying to calculate the hours and minutes with accuracy.

—The children made their appearance lately with badges over the left breast bearing the strange device: "O. & F." What these letters might portend was not by any means apparent at first sight. "Chops and tomato sauce" was hardly more enigmatic. We inquired of a bright little fellow if he had joined a secret society,

pointing at the symbol pinned to his jacket. He explained that the children had been divided into marching companies—"A," "B," and so on, with their captains, and that they were to take long tramps about the country once or twice a week with knapsacks on their backs, a flag flying, and other regimental ensigns. The cabalistic epigraph, "O. & F.," indicates Obedience and Faithfulness; and those who wear this badge are entitled to all army honors, while those who are seriously derelict in regard to required duties will be excluded for that time from joining the tramping excursion.

—When we built the main part and left wing of our mansion there was no railroad hereabouts, and we, of course, faced the highway which brought the world to us from north and south. A few years afterward the "Midland" cut through our grounds in the rear and obliged us to present our back-door to public gaze. We were in luck, however, for we were then planning the building of the second wing, and had just time enough to right about face and make our bow to the whirling trains with a somewhat obscured but tolerably effective front. Observing the improvements which the landscape-gardeners are now making between the house and railroad, we are led to some philosophical reflections on the prospective superiority of Communism in regard to one point which has perhaps heretofore been but lightly touched upon. When we came into the Oneida valley it was far from presenting the inviting aspect which it now wears. It was even difficult to perceive the natural advantages of the situation. The hills were covered with trees; the meadows were swampy and filled with scrubby undergrowth; land covered with huge stumps which belonged to primeval forests lay near the home domain; the roads were in a wretched condition, unturnpiked and almost impassable during the muddy season; the houses scattered along the valley were of the most ordinary description, and there was nothing in the landscape far or near to suggest the presence of man in his artistic strength as gardener or builder. Now, how different the scene! Not only has our domain developed into a loveliness which could hardly have been predicted of its early promise, but the surrounding country has undergone Aladdin changes. Pretty cottages, white or tinted, have taken the place of shanties; the roads are solid; the swamps have been converted, by draining, into gardens, and the hills which bound our horizon are covered with thrifty farms, neatly fenced off in grain-fields and meadow-lands.

But to our point: We have spent thirty years in developing and chiseling the form of our estate, until now it offers to the eye a pleasing view. There was no settled plan at the beginning; but gradually the arrangement of our grounds fell into the hands of those among us who have the most taste in landscape culture. As things go in ordinary society a man may spend the greater part of his life in modeling his surroundings to suit his fancy, and then at his death his property may pass into the possession of another who will entirely alter or destroy his work. Perhaps the first owner has rare delicacy of esthetic feeling—trimming and shaping and guiding with the hand of a lover; while the second is of so utilitarian a nature that he will drive his iconoclastic plow through the soft turf of the lawn, compelling mere beauty to stand aside for productiveness. Man has no security that his work will remain after he is gone. Even the law of primogeniture in England does not give absolute certainty. Riches take wings, and estates which have been for centuries in one line of possession fall into the hands of strangers who have their own ideas and family tree to cultivate. Now if we may assume that Communism is a form of society that will continue on indestructibly for indefinite ages, then we may hope that in succeeding generations there will be no startling change or sudden upheaval in the existing condition of grounds like ours. There will be no shifting of ownership from one man to another, but a harmonious policy will be pursued from year to year. What a man does to-day will live after him, and it may be that our great grandchildren will look upon a scene, improved of course, but not essentially different from the one which now lies so smilingly before us.

WAS IT PECUNIARILY SUCCESSFUL?

LETTER FROM THE CUSTODIAN OF THE ARCHIVES OF THE WISCONSIN PHALANX.

Ripon, Wis., May 5, 1879.

MR. WM. A. HINDS:

Dear Sir—Your communication was received and carefully considered. I have examined the books of the Phalanx in my possession, and the facts they disclose and my own knowledge (I was personally connected as

a member of the Association for five years and until its final closing up) warrant the position you have taken, viz., that the Wisconsin Phalanx was financially a success; or at least it was not a failure financially. It paid annually fair dividends to capital and labor during its existence; and at its final closing up its stock commanded a premium of eight per cent. above par.

My own individual experience may be stated thus: I was a single man, and joined the Association in May, 1845, and paid into its treasury \$50. At the close, in five years, by my labor and dividends, after paying all other expenses, board and clothes, etc., I had increased my stock to \$300. I don't claim this is a great showing. Some did better; some did worse. One thing more is true: all the real estate belonging to the Phalanx at the closing up was estimated and appraised very low; and all that took property of that kind had no reason to regret, for the city of Ripon now stands mostly on land owned by the Phalanx.

I am unable to find the annual statement for the year 1849; but my recollection and that of others of whom I have inquired is that it did not vary much from that of the previous year.

I think a very large portion of the members of the old Phalanx company are well pleased with their experience in connection with it, and look back to it as the happiest part of their lives. Often have I heard such expressions from them. Respectfully,

R. D. MASON.

WORDS TO THE CONVENTION.

New York, May 10, 1879.

EDITORS AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—As there is to be a Convention in this city on the 21st and 22d inst., to urge industrial and household association, it will be as well to give the committee of arrangements a few words of advice. The Convention originates with Mr. Ellis, of the Gunston (Va.) Coöperative Company, and possibly himself and associates are unaware of the drawbacks to which reform meetings are subjected here. They are infested by an earnest but garrulous set of men, who like to hear themselves talk, and whose subjects have rarely a direct reference to the objects for which the meetings are called. It would be well to suppress these good brethren in advance, by passing rules that the discussions shall be confined to arguments for or against associative life. Otherwise much time will be lost in speeches upon currency, free-love, spiritualism, land reform, the treatment of Indians, the abolition of interest, and the various political measures urged by the German school of Socialists. The voice of Daniel Pratt, the Great American Traveler, may also be among the possibilities, and hearers will depart with minds dazed by a mass of indefinite and intangible talk. Limit the main address of each meeting to about half an hour, and the speeches to ten minutes. Much can be said in that time if speakers study point and concentration. Reform meetings have greatly injured their objects in the past by permitting speakers on extraneous subjects to ventilate their hobbies and weary their hearers.

A SUFFERER IN THE PAST.

EDITORS AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—I see that a Convention of friends of humanity has been called to meet in New York on the 21st and 22d of May, to organize a Mutual Employment Company. A Convention, called for the purpose of devising means whereby the laboring classes may receive a better return for the work they perform, is certainly a philanthropic movement; but I hope those who meet in that Convention will conceive of a plan more practicable than the one proposed in their call, and one that will give some assurance of success.

Where can the men be found who will subscribe and advance the money for twenty thousand shares of stock in something, to be located somewhere, to do some kind of business that may return a profit, and may sink the money invested? Where can the experienced men be found for a board of directors who will leave the positions they hold to engage in a Socialistic venture, and who are competent to superintend great industries? What guarantee could such a company give to its members and employés of remunerative business or constant employment? What assurance would the managers have that they could pay their employés as much as they could receive in the employ of manufacturing firms already established, who have no factories to build or machinery to buy? The men who would work for less than they could receive elsewhere, for the sake of helping on the work until it could become established on a paying basis, are few. Few men would invest in the shares of such a company unless they were promised employment thereby. To take in as employés all who would seek to fasten themselves upon such a society, without regard to the ability, fitness or habits of life of applicants, would involve the concern in difficulties that would prove its ruin. To organize a Coöperative Com-

pany and successfully compete with the trade in either a mercantile or manufacturing business is not as easy as many seem to imagine. Competition has reduced profits to so small a margin that it is only the best calculators who are successful in business. It is stated that the large boot-and-shoe manufacturers in New England make and sell shoes at a profit of half a cent a pair over the cost of manufacture. Competition is so sharp, and profits are so small, that while a few can successfully carry on business, thousands fail, and what they lose is the poor man's gain. It is true that competition in many respects is a costly regulator of trade.

Small companies of people can unite their interests and so work together as to avoid, in a measure, the waste of competition. But such a Coöperative body cannot start into existence with a capital of \$100,000 and start upon great business industries. It must grow.

The working classes of our land are not oppressed on account of the cost of goods or the profits that go to capitalists and middlemen as much as they are through a lack of knowledge or means to use their earnings to the best advantage. It is not cheaper goods that we want, for goods are cheap enough now. Associated effort should be resorted to as a means whereby we can adopt better ways of living, rather than for the purpose of cheaper production. Improvement in society can come only through self-improvement. Communism offers advantages to the oppressed laboring people, not so much on account of cheaper production as on account of the improved habits and conditions of life that can be secured. Clothing is cheap, but it costs many poor people, women and girls especially, a good deal to dress, on account of fashion and pride. People buy costly food when that which is cheaper, if rightly prepared, would be more wholesome, nutritious and satisfactory. The cost of sickness is an enormous waste, which is due to ignorance of the laws of health, and to the fact that many are so cramped by poverty and other conditions that they cannot take care of their health. The members of a Community, if they are agreed, can adopt a style of dress that is plain, simple and pretty. The cooking can be done for all by a few, and by those who thoroughly understand the work; and sickness can, to a large extent, be avoided. That these advantages can be secured in a unitary home not wholly Communistic is probable. Fifty or a hundred individuals might live together in one home in a city, all paying their share of the expenses, and most of them work where they pleased. The unitary home is the best feature of the plan proposed in the call referred to, but a unitary home must be harmonious, which would not be possible if it were made up of all the labor reformers and disaffected workmen who could be induced to subscribe for shares in such a stock company.

A. B. GRIFFIN.

DRIVEN INTO ASSOCIATION.

Wallingford, Conn., May 5, 1879.

MR. EDITOR:—Two or three years' experience in producing milk for a neighboring city market has led to some observations and reflections on the changes and vicissitudes of this particular business. Prices, that were fairly remunerative when I entered upon the business, have periodically dropped down, in consequence of the general shrinkage of values and the sharpening of competition, until the margin of profits is hardly appreciable. The manufacture of butter and cheese at present prices offers no better inducements to dairymen, and indeed is regarded as less remunerative than milk, sold at its present low market value. The situation suggested reflection, and the milk-producers and dairy-men begin to inquire what shall we do to save our credit and make a profit. Some of these anxious milkmen had heard or read of milk associations in Central New York, and notably one in Syracuse. They had heard something of the advantages and economies that were gained by such an association, and the result was the calling of a Convention, a few weeks since, of all the men in the vicinity of New Haven concerned in this great milk-producing interest. The Convention was well attended, and an able address delivered. The address dwelt at length upon the magnitude and importance of this interest, and at the same time gave a good deal of emphasis to the uneconomical and expensive method of distribution and supply, that was involved in individual and unorganized effort. For instance, the address gave, I think, the number of milk-carts that were daily driven to the city of New Haven as about one hundred. Each producer had his consumers in every part of the city, and consequently every milk-wagon of the one hundred had to make a daily tour of the city. It needed no argument to prove that this daily cost of distribution under the individual system, or no system, requiring one hundred men and teams, could be greatly reduced—that by proper organization the labor could be done by at most twenty-five. An association would naturally relieve the farmer of the irksome labor of city distribution, simply requiring him to deliver the milk he produced at an estab-

lished milk depot. Then with the city divided into districts, and a proper organization for distribution, the cost would be reduced to the minimum. This is not speculation, for milk associations already formed are conducting their business substantially on the system which is briefly mentioned above.

The Convention appointed a committee to visit Syracuse and learn what they could of the methods and success of this Central New York milk association. I have not yet seen their report. The fruit interest, as well as the milk interest, is taking advantage of the economies of association; and if pecuniary interests are thus pushing men into association, how long will it be before it is found that all the higher interests are conserved in like manner?

W. H. W.

REVIEW NOTES.

HIGHER EDUCATION, AND A COMMON LANGUAGE. By Philip Gilbert Hamerton, President McCosh, and others. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co.

This is the ninth No. of the Atlas Series, and contains seven essays, devoted, with the exception of Mr. Hamerton's, to the discussion of the current educational systems in this and other countries. It is a little curious, and often instructive, to note the different conclusions at which capable thinkers may arrive, in the consideration of a subject; and this collection of essays affords a case in point. An able anonymous writer, speaking of the reform needed in the higher branches of education in this country, sharply criticises our colleges, pronouncing them much inferior to the German universities, and insisting that, to make them what they ought to be, they should have no religious bias, and that recitations, as well as compulsory attendance on classes and religious exercises, should be abolished. Dr. McCosh, on the other hand, no mean authority on educational topics, urges that all colleges ought to have a decided religious bias, that recitations and compulsory attendance on classes and religious exercises should be maintained, and finally concludes that, for most purposes, the education received at an American college is of as much practical value as that obtained in a German university. The reasons given by both writers for arriving at precisely opposite conclusions are so good, and of so nearly equal weight, that we will not attempt to act as umpire between them.

In another paper Dr. Ray Palmer, writing on Universal Education, alludes to our common-school system as about as good as anything of the kind in the world, while Eaton S. Drone, treating of Industrial Art Education in the United States, takes occasion to compare it very unfavorably with the educational system of several continental nations.

The especial point made by Mr. Hamerton, in his essay on a universal language, is the recommendation of Modern Greek as a medium of intercommunication between educated persons of all nationalities. His principal reason for this selection is, that the modern and the classical Greek are so nearly allied that, as all students include the classic Greek as a part of their curriculum, a comparatively slight additional effort would enable them to master the modern tongue; which in this case would occupy a function similar to that of the Latin language two hundred years ago, when it was used for all learned treatises, and also as a medium of correspondence between scholars. We are not much inclined to think that the modern world would tolerate a step backward in the adoption of a universal language. Mr. Hamerton is a thoughtful writer, and whatever comes from his pen is always worthy of consideration; but in considering the needs of a common language, a man who is less of an artist and more of a practical doer would be apt to conclude that such a language must embody the highest capability of speech, to adequately express the forward movements of nineteenth-century civilization. Only the languages which have kept pace with this development and have constantly modified their nomenclature in accordance with it, are adequate to express its pulsations; and we have no doubt that the final solution of the problem of a world-language will be reached without especial effort, by the attainment of some one out of the three leading languages of western Europe to such a fitness for the situation that none can gainsay its right to the place. Any one who will calculate the spread of the English language during the last fifty years, either as regards territorial area or population, will see that the lapse of another similar period, with a corresponding expansion, will very nearly make it the universal tongue, by a process of growth so natural as to be almost inevitable.

A woman of energy, with a brain that does not take her beyond the sympathies of average people, can, if she have

a guaranty of ninety-one years of labor in her, do a great deal of inconspicuous, valuable work. Such a woman was the late Sarah J. Hale. We are, it seems, indebted to her for the completion of Bunker Hill Monument, and "for the establishment of our beautiful New England festival of Thanksgiving as a National holiday."

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or Brethren, 1	and Brethren, 100
or Sisters, 1	and Sisters, 100
or Father, 1	and call no man father } 0
or Mother, 1	on the earth, }
or Wife, 1	and Mothers, 100
or Children, 1	they that have wives be as } 0
or Lands, 1	though they had none, }
for My sake and the	and Children, 100
Gospel's, 8	and Lands, 100
	with Persecutions," x
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A. L. G.

AN "ABSOLUTE TEST" MATERIALIZATION SEANCE.

BY CHARLES BLACKBURN.

In most of my letters to you I have advocated the adoption of two classes of séances, viz., the dark ones, in which tables, chairs, guitars, musical boxes, hand-bells, and other articles are knocked about; also spirit hands are produced. This class is most convincing to the inexperienced, and to those scientists who declare such things to be impossible except by trickery. A few séances of this kind have the tendency to awaken the mind to belief in the reality of some new power or force, because any of the sitters can hold both hands of the medium, and make sure she or he does nothing whatever. Thus he becomes prepared for a much higher phase, viz., that of seeing a "materialization" séance, in which a little light is admitted, sufficient to enable the sitters to see each other in the room distinctly; and it is necessary to observe certain conditions, or we cannot get a materialization at all. In America and other places many impostors have been before the public, imitating and personating materialized spirits, and it has cost me long investigation and care to arrange that my medium, Miss Cook, should be kept away from doubtful mediums and other influences which might be detrimental to her development, so that good spirits alone would attend her; and I think now that is established.

My last séance for materialization was with Miss Cook, on 31st March, at No. 4 Bloomsbury Place, London, in the presence of six witnesses whose names are below, and who can be seen and interrogated by the press, or scientific men, or skeptics any day. I arranged for the medium to give me a test séance in a house she had never sat in before; nor did the undersigned, Mr. and Mrs. Fletcher, previously know I intended calling to bid them good-by. We found that some friends had just called on them, but they kindly assisted at forming a cabinet in a corner of the drawing-room with two crimson curtains on a string, and we lowered the gas so that we could all see each other well; then placed a low chair inside the curtains, and the medium took off her hat and jacket. She had on a tight-fitting black silk dress, and she placed herself in the low chair, whilst we six sat in a half-circle around the drawn curtains. Mr. Fletcher sat at the left-hand corner of the cabinet curtains, whilst I sat at the right. In three minutes Lillie, the spirit, all in white raiment, visible to all, appeared, opening the two curtains. I said, "How quickly you have come." She replied, "Yes, I've been waiting, and shall only give you a short test séance." I replied, "Well, then, come to my corner." She came, and then took my two hands with her two warm hands, and said, "What test would you like?" (Observe, her face was no mask, but flexible, living features, and as solid as any human beings.) I replied, "I should like you to allow Mrs. Fletcher to go inside whilst I hold you here, and let her feel if the medium be seated in her chair." She replied, "Yes, she can go. Now Mrs. Fletcher instantly went inside and said aloud, "The medium is in her chair, and I have my hand now on her head." Mrs. Fletcher came to her seat, and Lillie quickly said to me, "You have had hold of me all the time. Are you satisfied?" I said, "Most certainly; but allow me to vary it a little by my taking Mrs. Fletcher's place and she taking mine." She said, "You can do so." We changed places, and I saw Mrs. Fletcher hold-

ing both the hands of the spirit and talking to it, whilst I put my left arm behind the curtain and felt the medium's warm head. Then I got inside, and with my right hand I felt her face and neck, and saw the spirit in white still held by and talking with Mrs. Fletcher. My right hand at that moment was seized violently and flung aside by the medium, who said, "Don't touch me." I retired to my seat, and Lillie said, "Now I must go, and I hope you are thoroughly satisfied?" I replied, "Yes, it is a genuine materialization."

We slowly added more light, and the gentlemen entered the cabinet, but found no spirit or white, soft (jaconette) drapery, only the medium in a drowsy state, in a black dress, expressing the hope that we had had a good séance.

Witnesses { MAJOR-GENERAL MACLEAN, E. I. U. S.,
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CHARLES BLACKBURN, Parkfield, Didsbury.

WONDERFUL CURES IN CONNECTICUT.

[From the New Haven Register.]

Mrs. Mix, the wonderful colored woman of Wolcottville, who has been effecting what appears to be wonderful cures, has exhibited her healing agency in West Haven. Wednesday she visited Mrs. Herbert Hall, who was very sick, and made her well, excepting that the woman is yet weak. She also made a wonderful cure in Mrs. George Tolls. This morning a *Register* reporter visited Mrs. Hall's home. Both Mr. and Mrs. Hall were willing to talk. Mrs. Hall has been sick for three months with enlargement of the spleen, inflammation of the bowels, and another painful disease. She has been treated by Dr. Sanford and Dr. Shepard, as she says, and they gave her up to die, after using powerful remedies. When the reporter saw Mrs. Hall this morning she was reclining, but was dressed, and rose to a sitting posture with apparent ease. She looked very weak and pale, bearing all the evidences of having been a great sufferer. She received the reporter very pleasantly. Her husband made some prefatory remarks. He said that he heard of Mrs. Mix through the *Register's* descriptive account of the wonderful woman. As his wife had been given up to die, her friends urged him to send for the woman, and he did so. She arrived Wednesday evening, and began her treatment at five minutes before seven o'clock. At fifteen minutes of eight the patient was dressed and walked about the room.

"Wednesday was my poorest day," said Mrs. Hall. "I was so sick I could not raise my head from the pillow. I was in great pain."

"They could hear her groaning in the store below," interrupted her husband, "and customers have gone away because they are so much annoyed. Why, one could not walk across the bedroom floor, no matter how softly, without disturbing her, the inflammation was so tender. Now," said he, "suing the action to the word on his own diaphragm, 'you can strike her anywhere without causing pain.'"

"What was her method of treatment in your case?" asked the reporter.

"First she entered the room and shut the door, keeping out every one so that there should be no excitement. Then she knelt by the bed and prayed. It was a very simple prayer. She asked God to remove the pains as if she were a child asking its parents for bread and butter. She placed her hand on my stomach and asked God to remove the pain that was there, and then touching my heart beseeched him to make that all right. When she had finished praying she urged me to have faith that God would make me well. I told her I had tried a number of physicians and they had not cured me. She said there was the Great Physician who could do everything. I began to have a little more faith. After praying she rubbed oil over me. As she drew her hand over my bloated body I felt the swelling go down, and put my hand to see if it were really subsiding, but she gently pushed it away. While she was treating me my legs trembled, and I began to feel much better. I had been in the greatest agony for two weeks. I believe," she said, with almost an attempt to smile, "that it was to-day that the doctor said I was going to die. I am far from that now, and expect to get entirely well. Mrs. Mix said that, of course, I would have to recover my strength the same as if a doctor had cured me. I feel well, only I am quite weak. Wednesday you could not have heard me talk a few feet away, I was so far gone." The patient's voice was now as strong as that of the average woman.

"Yesterday I went about the house, and had a large number of callers."

In answer to a question, Mrs. Hall said that the cure confirmed her belief in the Almighty; that she had undoubtedly a mission to perform, and that she had not passed through suffering for nothing.

"After Mrs. Mix had prayed and anointed me," said the patient, "she told me she wanted me to get up. She put on my stockings and then I attempted to rise. My legs trembled, and I reached out my hands to her and walked to the kitchen door. [The distance is several feet.] After that I went into the kitchen four times."

Mrs. Hall was weak and reclined before finishing her

story; but she still talked. Both she and her husband are firm believers in the great power of Mix as an instrument to effect cures.

When the reporter was leaving the house he met a pious colored woman, who was full of what she believed were Mrs. Mix's miraculous cures. She was a study, as she stood in the March wind with uplifted finger and eyes devoutly raised to heaven, saying, "I believe these cures can be made now just as well as they could in olden times."

Mrs. Mix asks no fee for her services.

RECEIVED.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS UPON THE CHARACTER AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF MORTON MCMICHAEL, as Editor, Public Officer and Citizen. By John W. Forney. Philadelphia: Sherman & Co., Printers, 1879.

THE NATIONAL VIEW. Vol. 1., No. 1. A Weekly Journal. Washington, D. C.

METHOD OF STUDY IN SOCIAL SCIENCE A Lecture delivered before the St. Louis Social Science Association, Mar. 4, 1879. By Wm. T. Harris. St. Louis: G. J. Jones & Co. 1879.

THE SCHOOL GARDEN. Being a Practical Contribution to the Subject of Education By Prof. Erasmus Schwab, Director of the Military College of Vienna. Translated from the fourth Edition by Mrs. Horace Mann. New York: M. L. Holbrook & Co. 1879.

ONE THING AND ANOTHER.

General Sheridan says they won't steal the Indian Territory while he looks out for it.

Another army bill has been pushed through the House and Senate, and now the question is, What will he do with it?

"Every man his own Pope!" Yes, that is so: but a fellow, you know, can't do all his own work. I have to leave my pope business to a man who makes a specialty of that sort of thing.

Hanlan, the Canadian boatman, who beat Courtney last year at Lachine, has just pulled in a single-scul race on the Tyne in England. He sculled 3½ miles in 32 minutes and 5 seconds, and beat Hawdon, his English antagonist, easily. 'Rah for Canada.

A Lahore dispatch to the London *Standard*, for May 10th, says Yakoob Khan has not come to an arrangement with the Viceroy of India and given Beaconsfield his "scientific frontier," as was reported. But wait a little longer, for Yakoob will have to do it.

Some one spoke to Beaconsfield lately about the extraordinary spread of the Nihilist conspiracy in Russia, and the Premier is reported to have said: "Yes, when a good many years ago I wrote that the world was governed by secret societies I was laughed at; but the people seem to be coming round to my view."

Charles F. Freeman, a Second Adventist, of Pocasset, Mass., has shocked the country by making a deliberate sacrifice of his little four-year-old Alice to the Lord: killed her with a knife. The singular thing is, that this piece of misdirected religious feeling was sympathized with by the child's mother and by twenty or more of the infatuated man's fellow Adventists.

When Zachary Chandler gets up to talk down upon the heads of that mass of Democratic Senators, he seems to be endowed with a memory like the day of judgment. "And now you inform us," says he, "that you are going to repeal all that the Republican party has done. What is this job you have undertaken? You are going to undo all that the Republican party has done. Where will you begin? Will you begin at Appomattox or before?"

The caucus is coming to have a large place in the dispatch of national legislation. The new army bill, says the *Tribune*, "was presented just as it was prepared by the Democratic caucus, and the Republican bill was presented just as it was prepared in accordance with the views of the Republican caucus: the Democrats, moving in solid phalanx, cut off all debate and all opportunities for amendment, except they did allow a vote upon the Republican bill as a substitute. Thus the singular spectacle was presented of the two caucuses doing the actual work of the House of Representatives, and the latter body merely serving as the registering instrument of the Democratic caucus."

Mr. Edward Atkinson, a well-known economist and cotton-manufacturer, of Boston, has been visiting the South. In Lynchburg, Virginia, he found negro families earning from \$40 to \$50 a week and owning their houses "by the hundred." They are building a church to cost \$25,000, and their minister receives \$1,100 a year. Mr. Atkinson was disposed to see the good that the negroes have secured for themselves, and his conclusion, from his inspection of the four largest seaboard States, was that "the main difficulties with respect to the relations of the two races had been surmounted, and that the colored population is rated according to the ability and industry of individuals." Must look at some such facts as these once in awhile, for our "stalwart" politicians are determined to give us no rest till they have put down every lank-haired Southern who talks politics and hunts his enemy with a bowie-knife and pistol.

President White, of Cornell, our Minister to Germany, has had a send-off by his old friends and neighbors of Syracuse. It was not a sensual thing—all beer and tobacco smoke—such as Bayard Taylor had to go through in New York. Above the clatter of knives and forks and the clink of spoons we hear Mr. White saying: "Of all mistakes which a tax-payer can make the most miserable is the mistake of stinting provision for the very best education of the people. Depend upon it, that if this Republic is to be saved from the fate of all the republics which have preceded it, it is to be saved under God by provision for the complete, thorough education of all its citizens to fit them for the duties of citizenship, from the lowest grade to the highest. Nor in my judgment are primary schools sufficient. Primary schools and advanced schools are closely knit together, and if one is wanting the rest will be weakened."

Isn't this state of things just what you fought and bled for? Didn't you fight to make those ten rebellious States come back into the Union—you to choose such members of Congress as would represent your interests, and they to elect such members of Congress as would represent their interests? That was what the Union used to be. You don't suppose the restoration of the Union means that New Hampshire shall be made to elect her Senators and Representatives in the interest of Louisiana or else hold her tongue in Congress? Why shouldn't the South be allowed to say that she is poor and greatly in need of help—that her harbors are bad and want improving—that her rivers are choked up and want opening? That isn't saying any more than the truth. The government of this country has been carried on so long in the interest of one section—the largest one to be sure—that it does seem like an unparalleled impertinence for the other part to come back and demand a different management.

After seven weeks of labor the Brooklyn presbytery has acquitted Dr. Talmage by a vote of 25 to 20. If we may trust the tone of the secular press the general impression is that the facts admitted at the trial warranted a different verdict, but owing partly to some indefiniteness in the moral code and partly to the ministerial habits of mind, these eminent clergymen found as they did. Ecclesiastical courts have not gained any lustre by this investigation. At the close of the trial our motley stood up and shook himself gayly; said he felt first-rate; said he had come to think that the Catholic church was the best church in the world, for that church didn't have only one pope; while Protestantism has a hundred popes. He was so happy at his deliverance he could forgive almost anybody. In fact, he would be glad to see his prosecutors in heaven, but not till after the first two or three days. After delivering himself in this wise Mr. Talmage marched straight out of that awful assembly, and left it, we suppose, full as ever of theological thunder and lightning.

The Constitutional Convention of California adjourned on the 3d of March, after sitting 157 days in deliberation, and framing an instrument that, by its adoption by the State, excites the almost universal disapprobation of the conservative Eastern press. Its definition of property not only makes land taxable, but it makes mortgages taxable, thus twice taxing some pieces of property; directors and trustees of associations are jointly and severally liable to the stockholders; lobbying and the acceptance of a reward while in the public service are made felonies; the Legislature shall prescribe all necessary regulations for the protection of the State from the evils arising from the presence of aliens and for the removal of such aliens from the State; corporations for the importation of cooley labor are to be subjected to penalties; the presence of foreigners ineligible to become citizens of the United States shall be discovered by all means in the power of the Legislature; the Chinese cannot be employed by any corporation in any capacity, nor by the authorities on any public work; and besides these disabilities the Chinese will be required to live without the limits of the towns and cities. Really, our Queen of the Pacific is desperately dainty and determined to choose her own company.

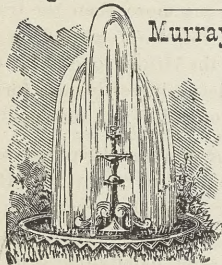
The Exodus of negroes from Mississippi and Louisiana has created a genuine alarm among the employers of colored labor in those States. The white folks bustled around and had a Mississippi Valley Labor Convention at Vicksburg, on Monday, the 5th inst. It was attended by the leading men of the State, of both colors, who divided the officers between them, and showed equal consideration in giving a hearing to each other. The blacks were invited to unfold their grievances, and were really for the first time appealed to as a power in the land. The white speakers labored to impress them with the idea that they would have guarantees of fair treatment hereafter on condition of remaining in the State and discouraging emigration. The Committee on Resolution was sheep's-gray in color. Its report recommended the discontinuance of "laws authorizing liens on crops for advance of articles—other than those of prime necessity, at moderate profits;" recognized the absolute legal equality of the colored race with the white, and conceded their right to vote without fear of "fraud, intimidation, or bull-doing on the part of the whites." The right to emigrate was freely acknowledged for all who have fulfilled their contracts, and it was declared that no obstacles should be put in their way. The

deep incredulity of the colored mind may be inferred from the fact that these resolutions were adopted only by white votes. The negroes, for once feeling that they were masters of the situation, were perfectly ready to hear what the whites had to promise—putting faith in those promises was another thing. They could see that the whites had come to a place where they must bend to the laboring oar. Such conventions may do something to allay the discontent of the Southern negro. The radicals, as well as the conservatives, will endeavor to discourage the Exodus, but for reasons quite opposite to those which actuate the others. Meantime, the oppressed will be tempted to skip all the hard questions of absolute right, and, yielding to the pressure of present expediency, they will move in the direction of least resistance and gradually get out of Egypt. This silent recession of the two races is likely to go on. It is not a high-handed solution of the difficulty, but it has its analogies everywhere in nature. The sincerity of the white Conventionists may be inferred from their treatment of Ex-Governor "Hangman" Foote's resolutions. He proposed a committee of three to appoint sub-committees in every county and parish of the State, and be the guardians of the interests of the blacks, hearing their grievances and devising means to prevent the recurrence of them. For this he got himself called a demagogue and political trickster. His plan was a good one though.

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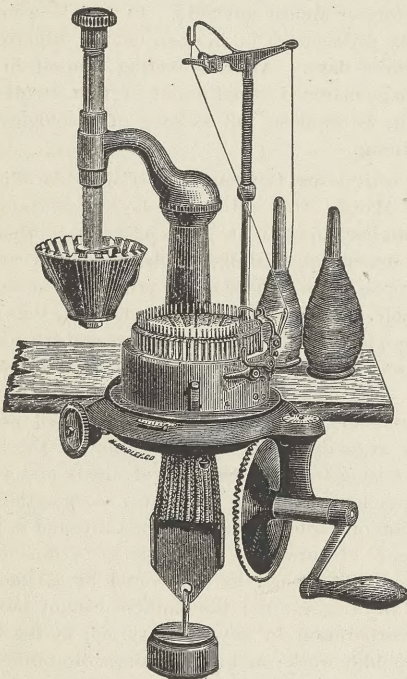


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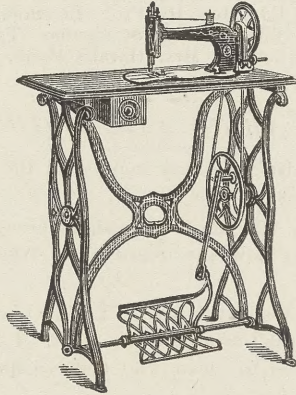
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